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ABSTRACT

For most of this century, Florida's economy has been one of the "boom or bust" variety; however, since the 1960s, the economy has diversified, bringing in a variety of "high tech" manufacturing and high-end service businesses to the state. Still, wages in agriculture and tourism are so low that the state suffers in terms of per capita income. Minority populations, although increasingly important in Florida life, will remain less than half of the state's population for the foreseeable future. Florida does have the best record of providing middle-class opportunities for Blacks and Hispanics in terms of small business starts, suburban residence, and government jobs. Schools will be at the center of the policy and implementation issues surrounding the state's future. Higher education, business, and communities will all be affected by how well the schools perform. Current efforts in Florida to raise the standards for high school graduation could result in an increase in dropouts in the state--an event with negative economic and social consequences for every Floridian. (20 references) (KM)

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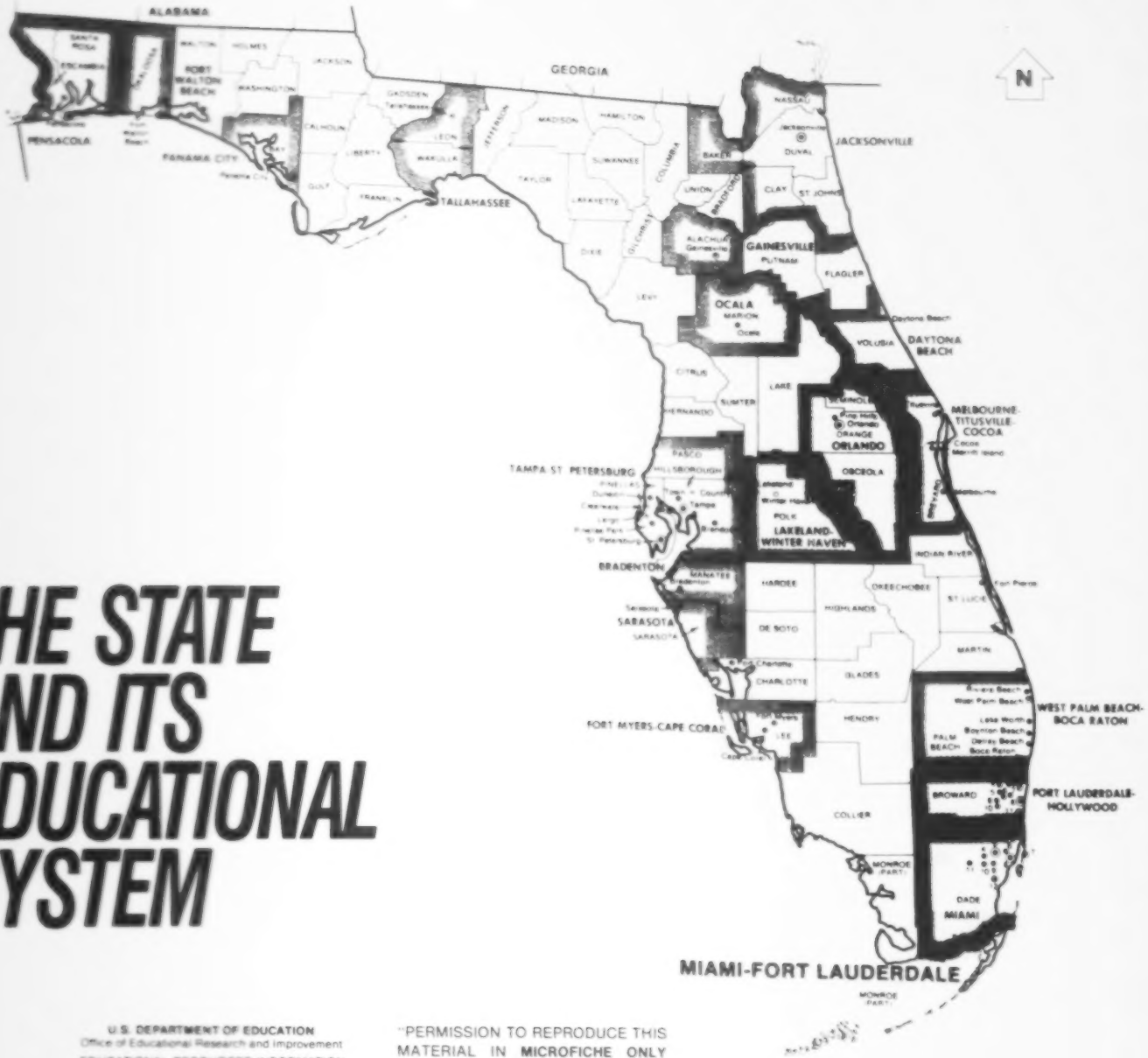

THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

EA 021 488

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However, errors of fact and interpretation remain the sole responsibility of the author.

Harold L. Hodgkinson
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This demographic analysis is part of a larger examination of educational planning issues by the joint Task Force to Improve Mathematics, Science, and Computer Education of the Florida Department of Education and the Florida Chamber of Commerce.

Cover and Graphics Design: Tony Browder, East Koast Graphics, Inc.

COVER NOTE:

This "people map" of Florida shows the state's 18 metropolitan areas in which 88 percent of the people live. During the 1970's, every metro area in Florida grew by at least 19 percent.

FLORIDA:
THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON
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The Institute for Educational Leadership

April, 1988

FLORIDA: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

If one assumes that America in the future will consist of a rapidly aging white population, a large but stable black population, a rapidly increasing, diverse and youthful Asian and Hispanic population, a new blend of service and "high-tech" jobs, rapid immigration from many nations, a declining base of middle-class people of working age, transiency and crime, environmental vulnerability, contrasts in wealth, social systems that cannot keep up with growth, exciting new social and political innovations and the agony of unfilled expectations, then Florida is the future of America, more than any other state.

The problem in talking about Florida is that it is not yet fully formed. Just as the Florida land mass hauled itself out of the sea later than the rest of our continent, so the state's distinctive social, economic and cultural systems have not yet matured. One meets few native Floridians on the streets, and most immigrants to Florida have come with deeply personal motives. Even people who *live* in Florida do not seem to think of Florida very often. The state has been called in *The Sunrise Report* a "state of exiles," others have called it the "every man for himself" state. Two massive waves of immigration, one interrupted by the Great Depression, the other still going on, have each influenced Florida in different ways. Wealthy hotel and railroad owners Flagler and Plant started the first wave in the 1880's, and brought Florida most of its upper class, travelling on Flagler-Plant trains to Flagler-Plant hotels. (Ironically, the wealthy also brought their servants—as the rich settled into Palm Beach, the black servant class settled in West Palm Beach, a community established for "the help." Everyone was there except for the middle class, a problem which plagues parts of Florida even today.)

This first boom, which later brought in thousands of land speculators, lasted until 1926, when the roof fell in. However, after World War II, air conditioning and air travel made Florida a haven for year-round tourism and retirement colonies, and in the 1960's the space program brought new opportunities for expansion.

Income taxes are still illegal under the state's constitution, and the sales tax clearly affects the poor more than the rich. Corporate income taxes help, but the state has always been in dire need of state funds, largely because of the *enormous number of people who require services.* (It needs to be said that retired populations are often net income producers due to the federal pass-through money which benefits the state in many ways. In 1985, $11.5 billion in social security and other transfer system monies entered the Florida economy.)

Manufacturing, also, found Florida irresistible for three reasons—almost nonexistent taxes, cheap labor and plenty of sunshine. These same three have given Florida a basically profitable agricultural base, even with poor soils and drainage and probably the highest "bug per plant" ratio in the U.S. But for most of this Century, Florida's economy was of the "boom or bust" variety, due to the three legs on its stool—citrus, tourism and construction. Since the 1960's, however, the Florida economy has diversified, bringing a variety of "high tech" manufacturing and high end service businesses to the state, especially financial and business services, technical services, (even more) real estate, legal services, etc. Areas known as "Computer Coast" (Miami, Dade), "Space Coast" (Melbourne, Orlando), and "Technology Bay" (Tampa-St. Petersburg), suggest this diversification. In this regard, Florida resembles California and New York more than Texas, which maintains its Recession-prone "thin" economy. Still, wages in agriculture and tourism are so low that Florida suffers in terms of per capita income. The income averages in Florida are very misleading in these categories—if you average high and low incomes, you get middle income numbers, but they don't mean much.

Much has been made of the fact that the population "balance point" has been moving south and west. Yet, in 1987, migration to Texas and California showed a remarkable slow-down, as the economies in the Mid-Atlantic and New England states staged a remarkable comeback. (In fact, in 1987, more people moved from Texas to Michigan than moved from Michigan to Texas!) Thus, in 1988, we must face a country in which the *population* moves slowly south and west, while the *economic* center of the nation moves to the east! While Texas and California growth rates will decline, the already high rates of migration to Florida from other states will increase. It also seems very unlikely that immigration from South and Central America, the Islands and various Asian nations will slow down before the year 2000.

The growth numbers are staggering. In the first half of the Eighties, six of the eleven fastest-growing areas in the U.S. were in Florida. (However, to keep one's perspective, the actual numbers of people are not as heavy as the percentage of growth):

FLORIDA TOP GROWTH AREAS
1980–1987

	1984	1980–84 Percentage	1987	1984–87 Percentage
Naples	110,000	29%	126,000	15%
Ocala	155,000	27%	173,000	11%
Ft. Pierce	190,000	26%	213,000	12%
Ft. Myers—Cape Coral	252,900	23%	285,000	13%
Melbourne—Titusville	329,500	21%	363,000	10%
West Palm, Boca Raton, Del Ray	692,000	20%	764,000	10%

The diversity of background by age and ethnicity is equally staggering. Florida is the gateway from South and Central America, as well as the Caribbean Islands. When Castro came to power, the elite of the Cuban workforce—professionals, technical experts, managers, etc.—came to the U.S. and established many businesses, including major trade relations with South and Central American businessmen. Cuba's later immigrants, the Marielitos, are a very different group. Haitians have become a major new immigrant group, especially in Dade County, while Puerto Ricans have moved in waves to both Florida and the New York City area since the turn of the Century. It is strange that so little is heard about the largest minority group in Florida—blacks.

A special word needs to be said regarding drugs, Florida's most intransigent problem. The state's coastal borders are almost impossible to patrol. Seventy percent of all cocaine in the U.S. comes in through Florida. The drug economy, estimated at 5 to 10 *billion* dollars a year, has had a major impact on most legitimate businesses and commercial transactions in the state, and the first-time cocaine user is reported to be 12½ years of age. The size of the enterprise is so vast, and the profits so high, there seems to be no clear strategy that would reduce the amount of cocaine and other drugs flooding into Florida. Certainly, supply will continue at its present level unless *demand is reduced*, and no one knows how to bring that about. Like childhood poverty, the issue of drugs has not yet become a clear priority for our nation, even with all the slogans and banner-waving. Population increases will clearly make the issue more dangerous in Florida's future.

This much population growth has strained the natural ecosystems from water to soils, and has placed even more stress on the *human* systems in the state. Florida relies on ground water for much of its supplies, (about 88%) and the potential exists for lowering the water table for fresh water, increasing the salinization of fresh water supplies (the Sahara was once fertile crop land until salt water got in) and the poisoning of a large part of the ground water. Demand simply exceeds safe supply.

People have the same problems—30 percent of the youngest children in Florida are in poverty, one of the highest figures in the nation. According to the (excellent) *Sunrise Report*, 62 percent of children receive no preventive health care, 50 percent have no safe child care, and 90 percent of teenage mothers are not in school. It could easily be argued that *half* of all the children added to Florida's population are at risk of failure, socially, educationally and occupationally. In the criminal justice area, some 2.9 million Floridians are "under supervision." Traffic jams are world class in much of Florida, health care is not, and increasing population densities are making it unlikely that people can find what they came to Florida for in the first place.

The legislature has become more conscientious in terms of its own operations—a far cry from the days of the "Pork Chop Gang." Although the Sunshine Laws may have been overdone, there is no doubt that when legislators can see themselves on television in the process of legislating, (Florida was the first state to do this), the results are salutary. Even in higher education, the empire building tendencies of the Sixties have given way to more concern for the state's entire higher educational efforts, and less to individual campus aggrandizement.

Recent legislation indicates genuine concern over environmental impact and improving the quality of life of the people, even though the revenue base is still woefully inadequate, and the state must play "catch–up" with many areas of concern. To indicate the urgency of demand for services, Florida ranks *41st* in general revenues per capita, 38th in state and local workers per 10,000 population, 49th in federal grants to states and localities, and 23rd in Federal defense research contracts.

Certainly former Governor, now Senator, Graham has attempted to *plan* Florida's future, an idea not always respected in Florida's past. Senator Chiles has also provided major leadership for the state in Washington and at home. "Every man for himself" is less true in Florida today; and reports like *The Sunrise Report*, the February 1987 report of the Comprehensive Plan Committee entitled *Keys to Florida's Future*, as well as the excellent publication from the State Department of Education in April, 1987 called *Priority Policy Issues* suggest a very

sophisticated concern for increasing the quality of life for *every* Floridian. But is it too little and too late, given the likelihood that growth in Florida will be maintained and even increased in many sectors? Let's now look at the basic data on Florida.

Here is a truly unusual state profile. The state's population is large, and is moving up in the rankings. (We'll examine in a minute who is coming to, and who is leaving, Florida.) Remember that *79%* of the state's population was born in another state or another country. The state has the oldest population in the U.S., not only because of the large number of elderly but also because the fertility rate among its younger citizens is so low. Because most Floridians were born in another state or nation, their roots and identities are to a degree located outside the boundaries of the state. The state's ethnic populations are changing rapidly, except for the largest group. Blacks seem to be stabilizing, while Hispanics of many origins have doubled their numbers since 1980, and many Asian Americans are joining the state as well.

Transiency leads to higher crime rates, and Florida is Exhibit A in that department. (To be fair, the Florida

FLORIDA'S PROFILE

	State Rank	*1980*	*1985*
Total population	**7th**	**9,746,000**	**11,366,000 (6th)**
Black population	**6th**	**1,342,000**	
Percent black	**13th**	**13.8%**	
Hispanic population	**4th**	**858,000**	
Percent Hispanic	**7th**	**8.8%**	
Foreign born	**4th**	**10.9%**	
Born in another state	**2nd**	**68.7%**	
Percent over 65	**1st**	**17.3%**	**17.6%**
Percent under 18	**50th**	**24.2%**	**22.3%**
Median age	**1st**	**34.7 years**	**37.5 years**
Birth rate	**42nd**	**14.1 per 1,000 population (1984)**	
Population density	**10th**		**210 per square mile (1985)**
Autos per 1,000 people	**8th**		**867.6 cars (1985)**
Women in the labor force	**45th**	**45.5%**	
College graduates	**29th**	**14.9%**	
High school graduates	**29th**	**67.2%**	
Married couple households	**42nd**	**59.4%**	
Per capita income	**22nd**	**$ 7,311**	**$13,742 (19th)**
Housing value	**18th**	**$54,000**	
Crime rate per 100,000 people	**1st**	**7,574 (1986)**	
Voting in 1984 election	**43rd**	**48.4% of eligible voters**	

criminal code is so vast that the average citizen breaks many laws just walking—or more likely driving—to the store for a loaf of bread.)

The densities of *both people and cars* are now among the highest in the nation, and clearly both kinds of density will increase in the future. The state's population clearly does not have the educational skills that *may* (or may not) be needed if the "high tech" predictions come true. In addition, per capita income is low, although moving up slightly in the rankings. The actual income data are split, with a large number of upper-middle incomes and a large number of jobs paying minimum wage or less. As expected, minorities are not evenly represented in the two income "bulges." A more accurate view might be that a *young minority population will provide the low-wage services that will be needed by the aging and usually affluent white majority.*

We need to spend a moment looking at Florida's mobility in greater detail. Stereotypes abound in this area, especially in terms of the retirees moving to Florida—actually, only 24 percent of the people moving to Florida are over 60! But if we look at the over-60's for a minute, an interesting fact emerges. From 1975-1980, 450,000 over-60's moved to Florida, but 92,000 over-60's left Florida. Of the "ins," 90 percent were financially and physically independent, while only 60 percent of the "outs" were. The conclusion, which is important to morticians and florists: people move to Florida to *retire*, but after their first major illness or financial trauma, many of them return to their roots—Ohio, Michigan, New York, Illinois—to die. Migration analysis can also tell us some other useful things:

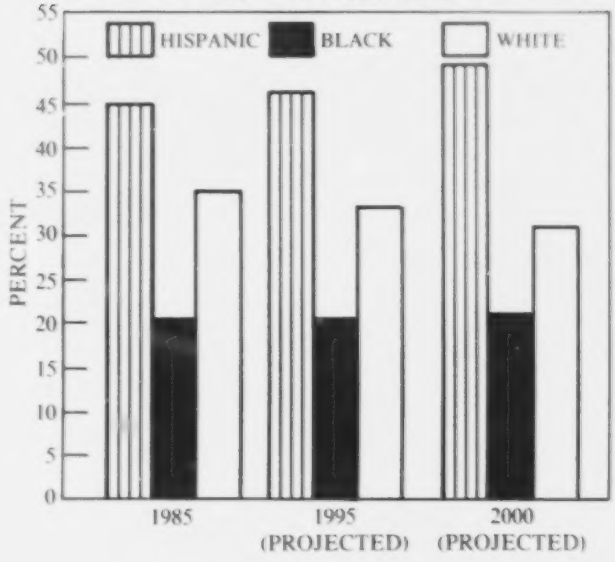
FLORIDA MIGRATION
1975–1980

	ALL	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
IN	2,040,193	1,849,289	113,130	202,315
OUT	978,135	883,010	70,068	40,406
NET	1,062,058	996,279	43,062	161,909

It is clear that during this period, those moving *to* Florida were overwhelmingly white. In addition, for every white or black moving out, less than two moved in. But for every Hispanic moving out, *four* Hispanics moved in. News media frequently report only the "in" while the "net" gives you a much more useful picture. Even with these data, we cannot pick out specific Hispanic groups. It is clear that Mexican Americans have a higher fertility rate than Cubans or Puerto Ricans, but are not increasing in Florida as rapidly as other island groups, particularly Haitians. (While their numbers are increasing rapidly, especially in the Dade County area, they are not "Hispanic" but represent a linguistic and cultural identity of their own.) We need to keep both immigration and fertility rates in mind. The best way to see the future is to look at the present. Dade County may well represent Florida's long term future in terms of population mixes and "minority majorities."

A word of caution here: Florida as a state is not likely to become a "minority majority" in the next twenty years,

DADE COUNTY POPULATION
1985 AND FORWARD



as both Texas and California will, even though Dade and other big counties in Florida will. Thus, there should be more time to plan resource growth for minorities in Florida than in the other two.

We can also look at *urban* mobility in Florida, and here is a very encouraging picture (See chart on page 5). Because the state is so relatively young, its suburbs have been able to expand without killing the core cities that are vital to their survival. Of the 18 metro areas in the state, only Pensacola suffered a decline in city population, and that was only 3.2% while Pensacola suburbs grew 26.5% from 1970 to 1980. In many other parts of the nation, cities have been decimated as homes, middle-class people *and* good jobs have all moved to the suburbs, leaving only restaurants, museums and concert halls to produce income in the core cities. Florida is very urban—88 percent live in the state's 18 metropolitan areas, and have been able to move to suburbs without destroying the city core.

Note the "old" city of Miami with its completed core, compared to Fort Myers—Cape Coral, concentrating more on developing its cores than its suburbs! Can we learn anything from Miami's development that will be useful to the Fort Myers—Cape Coral metro as it goes through a very parallel process? How can Miami be protected from the normal pattern of sucking the life out of the core and sending it (money, well-paying jobs, middle-class housing and middle-class people) to the suburbs? At the moment, even the excellent state master planning documents do not have an answer for that question.

Another area that is closely related to Florida's educational system is Florida's economy and workforce. Here, the state *has* been able to avoid some of the major problems plaguing other states—dependence on agriculture and manufacturing, the major

FLORIDA URBAN AND SUBURBAN GROWTH, 1970–1980

	1970	1980	NET
Miami Metro	1,267,292	1,625,781	+28.3%
Core	334,859	346,865	+3.6%
Suburb	932,933	1,278,916	+37.1%
Tampa-St. Pete Metro	1,088,549	1,569,134	+44.1%
Core	493,873	510,170	+3.3%
Suburb	594,676	1,058,964	+78.1%
Fort Myers—Cape Coral Metro	105,216	205,266	+95.1%
Core	27,351	68,741	+151.3%
Suburb	77,865	136,525	+75.3%

problem for states like Iowa and Ohio. Diversification, the single most important key to economic success for states, has taken hold in Florida. In the chart on page six, the first column indicates the percentage of the Florida workforce in that area, the second indicates the importance of that area for the state's economy compared to the nation, assuming the national median as 100.

Most states would love to have a state profile as diverse as this one! The immediate future of the American economy is in the high end of the service economy, and that is where Florida is remarkably well situated. Construction is the best predictor of future economic activity, which also bodes well for Florida. Transportation is important, not only because of Florida's extensive highway, air and sea alternatives for shipping goods, but the shipping of *ideas* through Florida's many information networks. Like California, Texas, Arizona and New York, economic diversification prevents the necessity of passing through the "smokestack manufacturing" phase of jobless growth, replacing the $14.00 per hour turret lathe operator with the $4.00 per hour cashier, the problem of Michigan and Ohio.

One interesting aspect of population growth is the resultant growth in services needed, especially federal postal services. In 1980 there were 83,052 federal workers in Florida; in 1986 there were 102,249, a 23 percent increase. (For comparison, Washington D.C. federal workers declined from 230,000 to 208,458 during the same years. The Florida "fed" workforce was *half* as big as the "fed" in Washington!) But of the net increase in federal workers in Florida, 15,000 of the 19,000 new workers were Postal Service workers, and most of these jobs are not at the high end of the Civil Service pay scale. At any rate, you can't add people as rapidly as Florida has without adding a lot of zip codes as well, and that means many *federal* service dollars as well as state and local. For the record, there are about 3 million federal workers in all, but each one generates *four* civilian jobs that deal with federal business—in Defense, there are 3 million civilian workers who work on defense contracts issued by the military to their civilian firm. In Florida, there are approximately 400,000 civilian jobs created through the 102,000 federal positions, especially in the space programs and military R and D, but also including agriculture, health, transportation, education, etc.

One key question for Florida concerns the amount of access its extensive minority and immigrant populations have to the large number of well-paying jobs in the state. Here is one place where Florida gets very good grades indeed when compared to other states with the same task, particularly New York, Texas, California, Arizona and Illinois. There are two notable examples—Miami and Fort Lauderdale. Although we normally think of Miami as heavily Hispanic, it is very favorable for black workers and businesses. In the author's *All One System*, Miami beat all other cities in the percentage of blacks living in the suburbs—194,000 out of a metro black population of 281,000, or 69 percent. Next in line were Newark (52.9%), Washington, D.C. (48.5%), Los Angeles (46.5%), Atlanta (46%), Oakland (39.5%), St. Louis (35.4%), Birmingham (34.1%), and Philadelphia (27.7%). (Chicago has some particular problems in this regard, and doesn't make the top 25.)

In the percentage of black, *middle-class* residents ($25,000-50,000 in 1985 dollars), Nassau-Suffolk leads the country, while Miami is second. Tampa-St. Petersburg is 14th and Ft. Lauderdale is 17th, with Jacksonville 22nd. *No other state in the nation has four metros in the top 25 for black middle-class income*, quite a tribute for a state that has not celebrated this achievement, nor tried to maintain or increase its position! (These numbers came from the Washington-based Joint Center for Political Studies in 1986.) Rather than *building* a black middle class, the task in Florida is to maintain and *extend* these economic opportunities for its minority population. It is in a position to lead the nation in this regard, even though groups like the Marielitos may make the task more difficult

FLORIDA BUSINESSES AND JOBS, 1980

	Percent	Index
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, MINING, FISHING	3.9%	98
CONSTRUCTION	8.3%	141
MANUFACTURING	12.6%	56
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION	8.0%	110
RETAIL TRADES	23.6%	116
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE	7.6%	127
BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE	11.5%	137
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE	18.8%	93
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	5.5%	104

as time goes on. In terms of entrepreneurship, Ft. Lauderdale is 7th in the nation in black-owned small businesses per 1,000 black residents, with a level of 16.6 black-owned businesses per 1,000 black residents, according to the Census Survey of Minority Business for 1982.

Data on Hispanics by income and residence is much harder to come by, although the same census survey indicates that half of all Hispanic businesses in the nation are located in Southern California, Texas, Miami, New York City and San Francisco. (What we want to know, however, is how well they are doing, and that is very difficult to discover.) Given the tendency for both minorities and immigrants to get jobs that cluster in the low-paying end of the service sector, and given the fact that those jobs represent the *majority* of new jobs coming on stream, we can see problems developing in the future, unless the minority middle classes are maintained and extended. We need to be clear about the *rates of growth* of certain jobs compared to the total *number* of new jobs which the country creates.

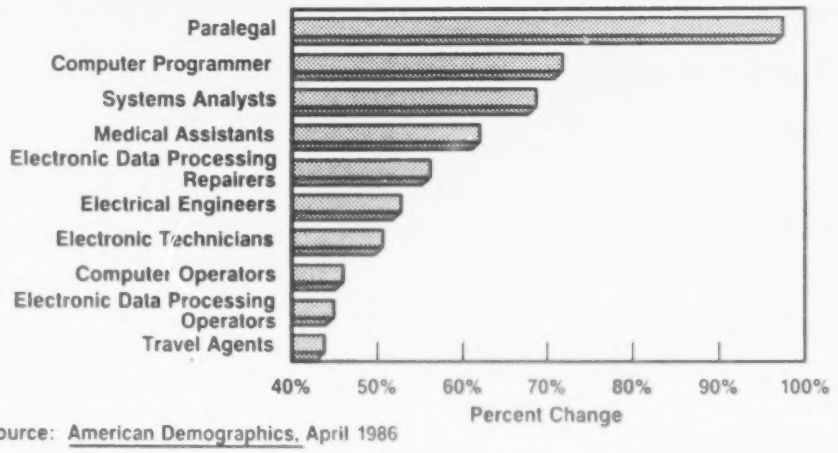
The Florida workforce, according to the *Monthly Labor Review, Winter, 1987*, contained the following jobs:

SELECTED FLORIDA JOBS
(Total 4,002,300)

Chemists	2,300
Economists	2,600
Dentists	5,200
Computer programmers	9,000
Finance managers	14,700
Social workers	15,000
Doctors	19,300
Lawyers	20,400
Guards	30,600
Domestics	33,900
High school teachers	32,500
Assemblers	32,500
Engineers (all)	43,900
Nurses	53,700
Elementary teachers	85,000
Janitors	126,600
Secretaries	168,600
Fast food workers	203,000

FASTEST GROWING JOBS IN TECHNICAL AREAS

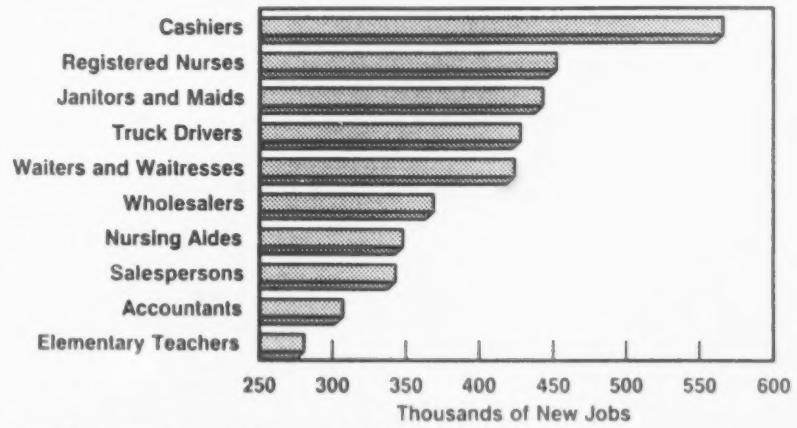
(Fastest Relative Growth, 1985 to 1995)



Source: American Demographics, April 1986

MOST NEW JOBS IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

(Fastest Absolute Growth, 1985 to 1995)



Source: American Demographics, April 1986

In terms of the prediction of new jobs in Florida, the Florida Department of Labor and Employment Security expects that the largest numbers of new Florida jobs from 1982-1995 will be as follows:

NEW FLORIDA JOBS: 1982–1995	
Sales clerks	43,147
Waiters, waitresses	42,792
General office clerks	37,151
Fast food workers	36,099
Guards and doorkeepers	35,602
Teachers, elementary*	24,757
Store managers	22,170
Nurses aides/orderlies	19,231
Kitchen helpers	18,750
Truck drivers	18,517

*Includes pre-school teachers

For every new job for a systems analyst in Florida, there will be *7* new jobs for waiters/waitresses!

Florida has several job planning problems. The people who most often end up in the low end of the service sector are women, minorities, and immigrants. Indeed, Florida mirrors the nation in this regard, as 83 percent of the 20 million workers who will be added to the U.S. economy by the year 2000 will be a combination of females, minorities and immigrants. But if minorities and immigrants find themselves blocked at the bottom of the services, with no chance for advancement for themselves or their children, the American dream will become fiction for a large number of Floridians. So far, Florida has a relatively impressive record in producing black and Hispanic middle classes. In the future, that excellent record will have to be maintained and even enhanced, given the likelihood of increased immigration from other countries, and more inmigration from other states.

How could Florida build even more of a "middle" into its service economy? The answer is nobody knows, but small business starts in new service endeavors (financial services, business services, technical services, "boutique" approaches to everything from car washes to butcher shops, etc.) will have to play a major part. A discouraging note is the steady decline in black enrollment in Florida community colleges over the last five years, as these programs usually lead to job mobility.

A word needs to be added on the quality of life issue. In terms of violent crime, Florida is a real leader:

FLORIDA CRIME RATE PER 100,000		
Murder:	(4th)	14.5
Rape:	(4th)	56.9
Robbery:	(5th)	355.5
Prisoners:	(7th)	217.0

Florida is 5th in terms of venereal disease rates, for both syphilis and gonorrhea. (But for cities, the gonorrhea rate in Atlanta is *3,114* cases per 100,000 population, Miami's rate is 935 per 100,000.) This factor is increasingly important, as we understand that venereal disease rates are an excellent marker for the potential for AIDS in a given area. Additionally, Florida ranks 4th in the nation in out-of-wedlock births (22 percent of all children born in Florida are born out of wedlock), and is 5th in divorces—for every 1,000 marriages in Florida there are *646* divorces. The state also has a very high abortion rate, with 645 abortions for every 1,000 births. (Although lower than New York State's rate of 666 abortions per 1,000 births, the number still has much demographic significance for Florida's future.) The alternative to abortion is usually single mothers on welfare, a category in which Florida ranks 47th in single mothers making use of federal funds. Only 26 percent of single mothers are receiving federal and state support for themselves and their children, a major reason why so many of Florida's kids are being raised in poverty.

This suggests that people do not behave in Florida as if they had finally found the promised land. Many of these measures are at least partially measures of social dissatisfaction and anomie, based on the twin factors of high density and transiency. To a large degree, these factors transcend race—dissatisfaction can be found in virtually all racial and ethnic groups, and of course, partially in the poor of whatever background.

Florida's Educational System

And which institution in Florida will right the wrongs, get people together, give them a sense of their own potential, and assist them in meeting these positive goals? The educational system, that's who! To say that this is a formidable challenge is to understate the task. Let's now have a look at Florida's public school system to see how well it is doing. The first obvious fact is that although Florida school enrollments have increased rapidly, they have not increased in proportion to Florida's overall growth rate.

However, the growth curve is accelerating, and in *Priority Policy Issues*, issued by Commissioner Castor in 1987, 841 new schools will have to be built by 1998, in order to accommodate new students flooding into the schools at a rate of 60,000 in the school year 1987-88. These schools will cost about $8 billion to construct, against funds being planned at $4 billion. (Funds to operate these new schools will be even more of a fundraising challenge for the state legislature.) One thing demographics can contribute to this plan is a small element of increased chaos, due to the very large number of Florida children who move from one county to another within the state during any given year, plus movement within each county. It seems very likely that by 1998, *a significant number of Florida's school sites will not be where the kids live*. To project in-state migration patterns of children is a forecaster's nightmare. Until we learn how to build portable schools that can

FLORIDA SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, SELECTED YEARS

	1970	1982	1985	1987 (Fall)
ALL	1,428,000	1,485,000	1,562,000	1,658,624
K-8	1,016,000	1,039,000	1,086,000	1,165,870
9-12	412,000	446,000	476,000	492,754

FLORIDA SCHOOL PROFILE

	1973–74	1985–86
Per-pupil expenditure	$962 (U.S. $1,147)	$3,731 (U.S. $3,677)
Teacher salaries	$10,287 (U.S. $11,690)	$22,296 (U.S. $25,257)
Funding: Federal	8.7%	8.0%
State	57.1%	53.4%
Local	34.2%	38.6%

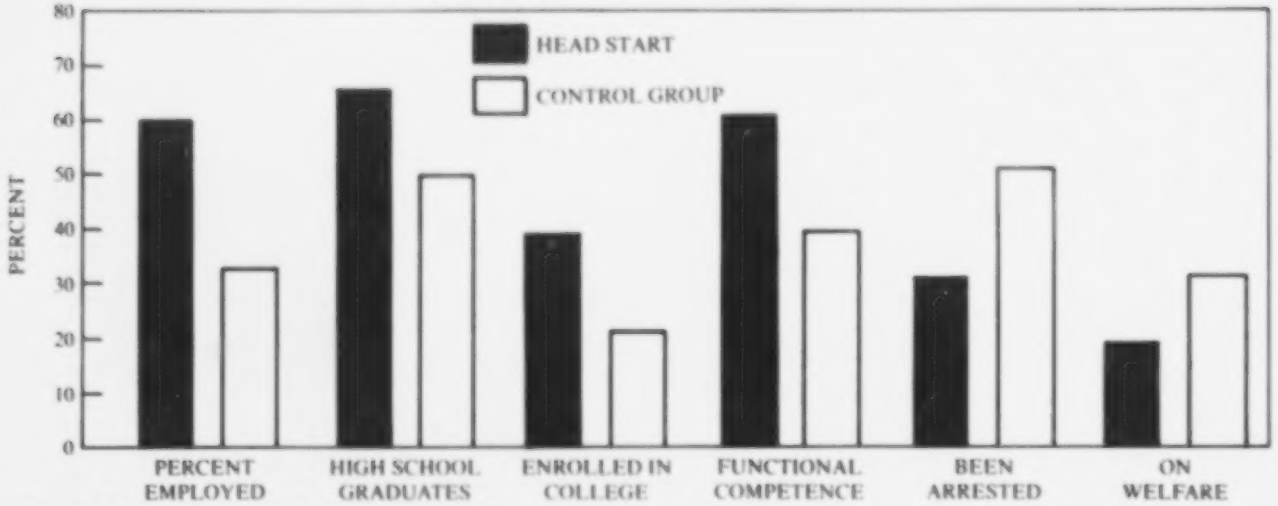
1980 Private School Enrollment:	204,988
Catholic schools	74,268
Other private schools	130,720
Percent of 1982 9th graders graduating in 1986	62.0% (50th)
Per capita income, 1986	$14,646 (U.S. $14,641)
Children in poverty, 1980	17.7% (U.S. 15.3%)
Pre-school age children in poverty, 1987	30% (U.S. 24% in 1985)
Student-teacher ratio, 1982–83	19.9 (U.S. 18.9)
Student teacher ratio, 1985–86	17.7 (U.S. 18.3)
Handicapped students, 1987	11.3% (U.S. 11.0%)
Gifted students, 1987	2.3% (U.S. 3.2%)
Minority students, 1984*	32.3% (U.S. 28.8%)
Black	23.1% (U.S. 16.2%)
Hispanic	8.1% (U.S. 9.1%)
Asian	1.0% (U.S. 2.5%)
Native American	.1% (U.S. .5%)
Bilingual students, 1984	2.2% (U.S. 2.9%)

*Florida minority figure for 1987 is 35% (U.S. Department of Education, February, 1988), not available by race.

travel on interstate highways, this problem will plague a high-mobility state like Florida. Let's look at the schools on some other measures which are shown above.

Some things are very clear from this profile. First, at a time when most states were cutting school budgets due to declining enrollments, Florida was *increasing* in students at a time when the economy was not always supportive. (From 1970-1982, American public schools lost 13 percent of enrollment.) However, this amount and more will need to be invested in new students coming into Florida's system, as we have already seen, and this level must be continued into the 21st Century. At a time when Florida

HEAD START CHILDREN AT AGE 19



From High/Scope Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1984

will be trying to attract a very large number of new teachers, the average salary is still below the national average, not a good recruiting tool. (It is not clear that "climate factors" can be traded for several thousand dollars of income per year, especially in a state with comparatively high living costs like Florida.) It is also interesting that local support for education is increasing at a time when in the nation it is state support that is increasing. In as complex a state as Florida, with regional differences of great magnitude within the state, local implementation and local leadership make a lot of sense.

Although per capita income appears normal, it must be remembered that Florida is the only state in the southeastern region in which per capita income has attained the national average, unless you include Texas. The regional contrast is much more striking than the national—as we have seen, Florida contains a lot of wealthy people and a lot of poor people, as seen by the high percentage of Florida children in poverty. Given the fact that Florida has managed a considerable expansion in students over the years, being one student over the national teacher-student average of 18 students per teacher is understandable. But Florida must not fall into the California trap—the largest student-teacher ratio in the nation at 23 students per teacher, with very great need for individualized programs given the diversity of student backgrounds. California must both build schools for a growing population *and* try to reduce class sizes considerably, an expensive combination. Nothing is more important for Florida now than to keep classes at their present size or even smaller as the state expands its school student body by about 60,000 a year.

Like California, Texas and New York, Florida is in the bottom ten in terms of retention to high school graduation (62 percent of ninth graders graduated "on time" in 1986, meaning that 38 percent did not). Although retention rates are notoriously inaccurate, the *rankings* may be fairly close. (You never get the mileage the EPA claims for your car, but compared to other makes, the ranking may be correct.) Interstate migration is one factor that messes up the retention numbers, and there is much interstate migration in Florida. However, the 62 percent cited by the U.S. Secretary of Education's "Wall Chart" in February, 1988, (making Florida 50th in retention), is controlled for migration. Remember that many of these high school dropouts will later take the G.E.D., an area of very high participation in Florida. It seems clear that Florida is now sending about one-third of its youth into adult life without even the minimum benefits of a high school diploma. With the efforts in Florida to raise the standards for high school graduation, the result could be an *increase* in dropouts in the state, an event with negative economic and social consequences for every Floridian.

Why are there such economic consequences of increasing the dropout rate? Look at the numbers: *80 percent* of all prisoners in the U.S. are high school dropouts. Each prisoner in jail for a year costs the state (and nation) about $24,000. (In Pennsylvania, it is seven times more expensive to have a person in the state pen than it is to have a person at Penn State, a matter of concern to many legislators when they look at increasing numbers of prisoners in the state's jails.) This does not mean that if all youth in the nation graduated from high school we could close all the prisons. But it *does* mean that not keeping up with educational needs now will result in a large bill for other services later.

The best evidences come from a pre-school program called Head Start. If one tracks the Head Start children through time, it is spectacular to see how different they are from a group of similar children who did not have the program. (See graph above.)

As the children move through their lives, it becomes clear that a dollar invested in Head Start saves *eight* dollars in later services that will not be needed, a rather spectacular return on investment! When we think, in Florida, of the cost of such programs, it is wise to also think

of the cost of *not having* them, a cost which can increasingly be calculated in real dollars, not to mention the fulfillment of human aspirations.

Florida is about on average with handicapped children. (Note that this figure is the percent of children diagnosed and placed in classes to meet their special needs, *not* the percent of children in the general Florida population with handicaps.) Again, it is salutary that in a time of expansion, Florida has not neglected its handicapped children, given the high per-student costs of many of these programs. Indeed, compared to national norms, Florida has fewer children in "gifted" classes than other states. (Again, the figure is for children in gifted *classes*, not for gifted children in the school population.)

Although there is much publicity about Florida's rapidly expanding Hispanic population, the numbers make clear that there are three black children in Florida schools for every Hispanic child. (Although we can only speculate, it is amazing that so much publicity surrounds Hispanic issues in Florida, and so little relates to blacks, given their numbers. Have Cuba, Puerto Rico and other areas sent their best educated, most entrepreneurial people, who plan to build a better life for their children and have the skills and knowledge to bring this about. Why is it a secret that Miami leads the nation in the percentage of blacks who are middle class in income? The data we mentioned earlier show that many sections of Florida are among the best in the nation for allowing blacks to start small businesses, move to the suburbs, etc. But why do we hear so little about blacks in Florida, and so much about Hispanics? (Even Asian Americans, increasing their numbers in Florida but slowly, are rarely referred to in print media and television.)

Minority populations relate to the bilingual effort in Florida, in that less than the national percentage of school children are in bilingual classes in Florida, contrary to our perception of the state. Is it because the number of children who speak a language other than English is below the national average, or is it that some Florida leaders do not believe in bilingual approaches to education? One figure that would be useful would be the percentage of poverty children in Florida broken down by race, to get a sense of which children are economically "at risk." Unfortunately, that is not possible with current data resources.

It also is not possible to get a clear sense of the role of independent schools in the state. About 14 percent of all students attend them, compared to national averages of 12-13 percent. However, Catholic schools in Florida only enroll about half as many students as one would expect from national averages. The comparatively small percentage of Hispanic students in private schools in Florida may be a contributing factor. Given the national tendency for private school students to be underrepresented at lower levels of parental income, it does not appear that Florida's independent schools are helping to equalize equality of educational opportunity by admitting reasonably large numbers of poor and minority students.

One of the most difficult problems facing Florida's future is the increasing competition for scarce resources from both the young and the older populations. Florida's "older" populations are very well organized politically, and have lots of discretionary time (their kids are grown) and discretionary income (75 percent of them live in homes that are paid for). They have been referred to as Florida's "Condo Commandos." It seems vital that the elderly come to see schools as bases for programs that benefit the elderly. They need to be physically in schools, to help out in volunteering, to eat some meals there, etc. As we rethink the nature of "community centers" in America, Florida can be a model for public schools as service centers for citizens of all ages. In Florida, this will be a political necessity in the next decade.

What one sees in terms of Florida public schools is a system which fits a term of the Southern Growth Policies Board—"Halfway home and a long way to go." The expansion which has already happened has been dealt with rather well, although the conditions of Florida youth (one-third of younger children were in poverty in 1987) suggest that future conditions will be *less* favorable to the schools than at present. More youth will enter the schools "at risk" of school failure, and the solution is clearly *not* to raise standards without providing the resources needed to give every Florida child an equitable chance of attaining these standards. Even now, there is an alarming decline in high school graduates in Florida which will be to no one's economic or social benefit.

FLORIDA HIGHER EDUCATION

Although it began planning a state system of higher education a little later than did some of the early "master plan" states (New York and California come to mind), Florida has done very well in building a comprehensive system of postsecondary education. In 1984, Florida's 88 institutions of higher education were enrolling 444,000 students; 354,000 in public institutions and 90,000 in independent colleges and universities. Interestingly, 221,000 were full-time and *223,000* were part-time, a very large fraction of total enrollment. Only 77,000 were first-time freshmen. Here is a system very well prepared to take care of the educational needs of "older" college students, assuming that most part-time students are not 18-22 years old. (For contrast, North Carolina, a state with a much smaller population, had 128 institutions of higher education in 1984, enrolling over 300,000 students, of whom the vast majority were full-time.)

In the last decade, institutions from Florida have leaped into national prominence. The University of Miami, long considered a haven for wealthy surfers, has emerged as an institution of the first rank, particularly in medicine and other professions. Miami Dade Community College could probably win any election for the best community college in the country, the University of Florida and Florida State continue to improve in terms of research sophistication, and part of Florida's attraction for "high tech" businesses is the quality of the Florida higher education system.

Although faculty salaries are a little behind ($29,334 for all full-time faculty, all levels and types of control during 1985-86 with a U.S. average of $32,392), Florida's level of effort for higher education seems to be about average. On appropriations for public higher education students per Full-Time Equivalent, Florida ranks 25th, with $3,484. (One problem the state has that sets it back on measures like this is the extremely high rate of part-time students. Although these students only provide a fraction of a full-time tuition, they need a *whole* place in the parking lot, a whole book in the library, etc. Full-time services for a part-time payment is a financially difficult proposition, especially in Florida.)

However, there are some student flow problems. The number of high school graduates has actually decreased, from 90,000 in 1981 to 82,184 in 1986-87. (Add to that approximately 10,000 graduates of Florida private schools.) A fair number of Florida high school graduates go to college, although 20 percent leave the state to attend college elsewhere. And a fair number of minorities attend Florida higher education—100,176 in 1986, or 20.9 percent. (Remember that about 35 percent of public school students are minority.)

One problem is the distribution of college students by race. Although the black population in Florida is considerably larger than the Hispanic, the number attending college is almost the same—40,000 black students and 44,000 Hispanics in 1984, along with 5,500 Asian Americans and 15,000 foreign students. While cheering on the state for its Hispanic enrollment, we must urge more effort to find equity for blacks in the process. Black enrollments in Florida's community colleges have dropped steadily since 1977, while blacks in four-year institutions have remained steady since 1981. Hispanic enrollments have been up by about one-third for both two and four year programs since 1980. Whether the problem has been increased by larger numbers of black high school dropouts cannot be decided from the existing data. However, by recent efforts in the state to raise standards for high school graduation without providing equitable resources to help every child *attain* these higher standards, the Florida higher education system is vulnerable if the decline in black college enrollments continues.

The "every man for himself" philosophy was clearly seen in the late Sixties and Seventies in Florida higher education. Politics were extremely important in each institution's search for "greatness" (often defined as aquiring resources, not better teaching or research). Today, Florida may be thinking more about state priorities, and master planning is making more sense, particularly for the community college system. The major growth area in Florida education for the 1980's and 90's will continue to be adult/continuing education. As America deals with the problems of finding productive roles for our rapidly aging population, Florida higher education will serve as a national model for the development of effective programs.

It would be important for Florida to seize the initiative in developing effective programs for the *other* major player on the education scene—the rapid increase in minority youth. There is a master plan mentality in higher education that tends to ignore public schools. Efforts of many Florida leaders, including Robert Mautz and (then) Governor Graham, have helped citizens to begin thinking about Florida education as if it were a single system starting with pre-school and ending with graduate school (which, of course, it is).

The burdens that will be placed on Florida's education system in the next decade will be even greater than in the past, as *half* the children already born, but too young for school, have been born "at risk," with the cards stacked against them. At the same time, standards have been raised. Higher education in Florida can be no better than Florida's public schools. It is important for higher education leaders to work with the public school leadership in Florida, partially because it will result in greater enrollments for them later on. This is a very pragmatic, not a liberal position, defined by deToqueville as "self-interest, correctly understood." It is this spirit of enlightened pragmatism that should pervade Florida's educational system during the next ten crucial years.

FLORIDA—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Unlike Texas, California, Arizona and other high growth states, Florida is the only one in which growth *rates* may increase markedly in the next decade. (The move to the West was in part false confidence in the "Sun Belt" economy, while in fact the New England and Mid-Atlantic states showed the highest levels of increased per capita income from 1980-87, while the Sun Belt states led only in the percentage of business failures.)

Minority populations, although increasingly important in Florida life, will remain less than half of Florida's population for the foreseeable future, while in Texas and California, the children who will form a "minority majority" in those states have already been born. Florida, in many ways, has the best record of providing middle-class opportunities for blacks and Hispanics, in terms of small business starts, suburban residence and government jobs. The big youth issue is not race, it is *class*—a large number of children, close to half, come to the school with some kind of major detriment. If we expect the schools to solve all these social problems their students bring with them every day to school (and you can't leave your family at the school door), then schools will have to work harder just to stay even.

Schools *will* be at the center of the policy and implementation issues surrounding Florida's future. Higher education, business, and communities will all be affected by how well the schools perform. At present, high schools are graduating fewer students, fewer black students are found in community colleges, and far too many students get involved with drugs and crime. There is an urgency about the current situation. Here are a few suggestions for action:

1. Growth in student populations must be paid for "as you go" or earlier, keeping faculty-student ratios at the present level or lower. So far, Florida is the only state with increased enrollments which has *reduced* student-teacher ratios, from 19.9 in 1982 to 17.5 in 1987. An increasingly diverse student population will probably do better in smaller classes. The *worst* mistake for Florida would be to fudge on costs by increasing class sizes during the expansion, arguing that class sizes can be reduced "later." There is no "later" for educational expenditures during an expansion of enrollment.
2. Schools must deflect the increasing anxiety felt by senior citizens over limited service dollars for dependent older and younger citizens. There are many solutions to this problem, including locating programs for older people right in the school, encouraging senior citizens to tutor, etc. Last year, the author heard a woman at a Florida school board meeting draw thunderous applause by saying "Why should I be concerned about the education of someone else's children?" We need to convince that person that education is a *civic*, as well as parental, responsibility.
3. As the excellent *Priority Policy Issues* document suggests, one major focus needs to be placed on early childhood programs with a considerable amount of local direction and leadership. The same applies to school-based child care and drug education programs. While these initiatives are all very well drawn, it is not yet clear where they fit in the sea of priorities considered by the state as a whole. Certainly the *Sunrise Report* expresses major concerns for education issues. One thing to remember is that in discussions of children's education, children's health, housing, transportation, etc., it's the same kids who make use of these services. We tend to lose the clients in the bureaucracies which were set up to serve them.
4. Although the educational programs that will be needed are expensive, their costs need to be considered in terms of later services (prisons, drug detox centers, etc.) that will not be needed. If you think these programs will be expensive, try *not* having the programs and see what that costs. Florida business leaders need to understand and support public education.
5. Criteria for success need not be complex, in fact they arise naturally from the Department's *Priority Policy Issues*. Here are but a *few* examples starting with the number of children eligible for a pre-school success program involving parents compared to those for whom no program is available; keeping kids at grade level in the crucial first years of school; high school graduation and college-going rates particularly for poverty and minority youth; the development of truly useful occupational skills for the Florida economy; use of the GED and other devices to let people "back in" when they're ready to achieve; minority enrollments in colleges compared to minority *graduates*. These are not complex assessments, but they must add up to some central conviction about the future of Florida, and education's role in that future.

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FLORIDA: SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. Florida has already experienced a major increase in its population of people and cars. But the "spin" of this growth has been to Florida, then Texas and Arizona, and thence to California, as the population has moved slowly south and west. However, today we see a reduction in the rate of movement to the west. *As the population center moves slowly west, the economic center of the U.S. is actually moving back to the east, because of economic difficulties throughout the "Sun Belt" and because of the rapidly improving economies in the New England and Mid-Atlantic regions.* This means one thing—the likelihood of even higher growth rates in Florida in the future, due in part to its well diversified economy. (Indeed, the future of Florida involves massive exchange of goods and services with other *nations* as well as the U.S. Florida will certainly have its own "foreign policy" in the next few years.)
2. Unlike many states, Florida's suburbs have grown without sucking the life out of its core cities. This is due to the fact that the state is so young, and is in many ways still being formed, that most things can grow at the same time. (In "mature" states like Pennsylvania, suburban growth seems to come at the expense of the core cities.)
3. Florida's history has meant expansion among the rich and poor, while the middle of the income distribution has not grown apace. The future of Florida's workforce will also emphasize a large number of low-level service jobs that pay very little and have little opportunity for advancement, along with a smaller number of jobs in technology and high-end services which have more potential.
4. Florida leads the nation in the number of cities in which black, middle-class populations are doing well, and also does very well in black suburban residence. Hispanics have also done well in small businesses and (especially) in local politics. However, there are some discouraging signs, such as the decline in black community college students over the last five years.
5. Florida crime rates are very high, and will probably continue to increase in the future, diverting even more resources from those that could provide services to children and the elderly. (One prisoner in jail for one year costs $24,000, enough to fund *eight* children in a Head Start program or send *three* students to a Florida public college or university for a year!)
6. Florida's elderly population will increase in numbers and in political influence, developing tensions between their need for resources and others, particularly education. By offering programs for the elderly on school sites, and by encouraging elderly to volunteer in classes, etc., schools may be able to show their value as a community center for elderly interests *before* hostility gets too great.
7. Florida's diverse set of institutions of higher education have passed through the "empire building" stage of the Sixties and have performed well in providing high quality education for Florida. A *very* high proportion of its students are part-time, suggesting a major commitment to the "non-traditional" student who is over 24, works and supports a family while going to college. Black and Hispanic college enrollments are about equal, even though there are many more blacks than Hispanics in the state's total population.
8. Florida's schools face increasing challenges in terms of continued expansion of school enrollments. In addition to school construction and teacher recruitment, additional costs will be generated by a larger number of students who come to school "at risk"—of the 60,000 new children added to Florida in 1987, 18,500 were in poverty, 5,200 were abused or neglected and 4,000 were handicapped. There is little doubt that educational investments in Florida will have to *increase* for each child if half will be coming to school from this kind of background.
9. Growth in Florida's population will be inexorable. Unless comprehensive, not segmented, planning is carried out in the state (and the *Sunrise Report* is an excellent example of what can be done), then quality of life will suffer for all. Florida, particularly, can learn from the mistakes of "older" states that are further along in their development and have less "running room," because they allowed their core cities to be depleted before taking action. If Florida can learn how to allow suburban growth without sucking the life out of its core cities, how to encourage reasonable housing expansion without damaging Florida's delicate ecosystems, how to increase the life chances for an increasingly diverse group of elderly and minority citizens, then Florida will be the leadership state of the year 2000.